[18]

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

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1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 787 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, soothsaying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit." It proceeds as follows:

A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and [784] bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is pre- [782] sented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes [783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth. Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted [788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times. He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[19 cont.]

1791 [787] prerequisites are necessary. Thus he officiates as soothsayer and invoker of spirits for almost all undertakings, such as house-building, oracles, offerings, festivals, travel, etc. (10). [The notes are not indicated in numerical order. The first nine are given just prior to or in connection with the word list that follows.]

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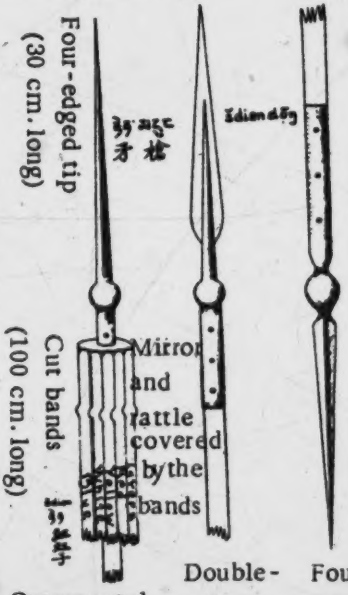
10. [Foreign text p. 26.] Besides the spirit-spear, the Tujen have other oracles that are used in like manner, namely, the spirit table, sirie purgan,

[532]



Ornamental spear of the soothsayer from Erh-ku-lung-szu

(Drawings from personal observation)

Fig. 1. Spirit-spear

[18 cont.]

Details

791 787 The soothsayer: The soothsayer is called "the one who seizes the consecrated." He has a close relationship with the spirit, but is not possessed by it. He, however, is not master over his movements, but the spirit is. [19] The latter shakes the spear and the soothsayer's arms. The soothsayer does not [756] go into ecstasy like other shamans, among whom the entire body quivers.

Not everyone is capable of being moved by the spirit and of learning its meaning. Only by experimentation does one discover this characteristic; this usually happens when one is alone in a lonely place. When there is no soothsayer in a locality, the people request one person or another whom they regard as suitable to try it, especially when it is urgently necessary, for instance, in case of an approaching thunderstorm or sudden sickness. There are no special schools or teachers. Spear-soothsaying is not passed down in the family.

791 756 The spear-soothsayers constitute a special type that is different from other soothsayers and shamans. Each one practices his profession for himself. They have no relations of any kind among themselves and have no special social position or rights. [Fig. 1 appears here.] Also, they have no special doctrines or secrets, as do certain shamans, for instance. They are ordinary farmers with wife and child.

It is true that lamas, Bon priests, and other shamans can prophesy with the spear, but not all of them, and it has nothing to do with their status. For that reason they do not wear their own official costume for it, unless they happen to be wearing it already.

The spear-soothsayer is not tied to one specific spirit, as is the sword-shaman, for instance, who can only call down his tutelary spirit. A spear-soothsayer can prophesy with all spears and all spirits at any time of the day or night and at any place, even if he should wander a thousand miles away.

791 Hence the spear-soothsayer is the one most frequently used by the Tujen. There is one in almost every village, and he is easy to find because no special moral and social

[19 cont.]

787 [Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.] not master over their movements, so strong is the propulsion.

With all these mediums, the main thing is not the soothsaying but the temporary effects of the indwelling spirit. For that reason, the spirit is always summoned when a religious act at which its presence is desired is undertaken, for instance, an offering, housebuilding, laying out a cemetery, etc. It leads everything, sees everything, guards everything. [791] To be sure, there are always people needed who can react to the spirit's movements, for not everyone is qualified for it.

*778 The spear: The spirit-spear is simply called "the holy-sublime." It looks like an ordinary spear, except that it is more beautiful. A number of colored bands in the [20] five [533] sacred colors and ceremonial cloths (hada) are fastened directly under the very long tip. A garland of little bells and a series of dollar-sized metal mirrors are likewise found directly below the tip, but are covered by the bands. The bands are called "consecration bands." They can be made of every possible kind of material, no matter where it is from or what purpose it has already been used. The spear is consecrated by means of the [787] bands, so that the spirit dwells in it. It makes its activity known through the bells. The metal mirrors represent its omniscience, whereby it sees everything as in a thousand mirrors. Formerly these mirrors were made of gold, but nowadays they are usually only little copper plates which are attached by an eyelet, like buttons. The number of the bands, bells, and mirrors is not prescribed.

[21 cont.]
*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tiengĕre or the god of heaven never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
[794] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
[527] ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
[273] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a
[346] spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor. All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance, one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of
[791] the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
*778 ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard. It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[22 cont.]

346 *778 must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The soothsayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict separation from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

783 *778 562 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

791 *778 These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer. He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

171 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[22 cont.]

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171 [Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.] special sayings concerning this, which the Tujen lack.

Word List-

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791 To prophesy: purgandë sila = the spirit to question (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 23.] This expression applies both to the people who question the god and to the soothsayer who calls down the spirit. The Chinese say for this ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, "to invite the Buddha-Father." This expression is applied primarily to the soothsayer himself; in an extended sense it signifies every questioning by means of a deity, soothsaying, oracle.

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*778 Spear-soothsayer: šdiendzën; šdien (Tib.) = the consecrated, the sacred (4).
dzën (Tib. loanword) = to contain, to hold.

4. [Foreign text pp. 23-24.] šdien is the name both for the consecrated spear with bands attached and for the consecration band (or bands) itself, but primarily for the bands after the consecration and detached from the spear. The consecrated bands on the spear, according to the informant, are called by the Tibetan names xuon (silk cloth)

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 23-24 cont.]
and sënisial (silk threads). These Tibetan names are sacred, whereas in profane speech the silk is called turguo and the threads šdadzē. For the use of šdien, cf. also the chapter, "The Animal Consecration," Note 4.

To explain the Tibetan loanword šdien, the old man wrote the Chinese sign kung-fêng, "to worship, to consecrate." In order to consecrate an object, to set it aside for the gods and make it especially worthy of worship, one should tie a band to it. Later on, so he said, the whole object, the figure, etc., was called šdien, as well as the bands and thread which made the spear sacred. The DMF (p. 371) explains šdien: "piece of red or yellow material that is put on the idols to worship them, on men or on animals to consecrate them to the gods or to preserve their life" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. rten, "visible representation, symbol, seat of deity" (?) [cited in English]. This explanation, which comes from another Tujen informant, agrees almost entirely with that of the old man. He only noted in connection with it that not only red or yellow bands, but also those of various colors could be used, [24] although one would not attach them to human beings. Red seems to be the most important color, however, as is apparent from the Chinese name hung-hung-tzu, "the red."

šdien is derived from the Tibetan rten; for further details see the following chapter, "The Gurtum," and Part Two. Here it

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 23-24 cont.] should only be noted that šdien (rten) in the narrow sense signifies "to contain, content," that is, seat of the spirit. In the broader sense one can accept the above explanation and translate it generally as "the consecrated, the sacred," etc.

dzēn = Tib. 'dsin = "to hold, carrier." Ch. Das does not have the combination rten 'dsin, but on p. 1053 he gives similar compounds, for instance, rdo rje 'dsin: "the holder of the vajra" [cited in English]. šdiendzēn has thus been rendered quite accurately by the informant as "carrier of the sacred; the one holding the consecrated."

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Spirit-spear: šdiendoň (5); doň (Tib. loanword) = conch, sublime, white, pure.
purgān = god, spirit, demon.
fo-yeh (chin.) = Buddha-Father (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 24.] When the informant here identifies the doň in šdiendoň with the Tibetan duň (conch), it is a rare case of an incorrect explanation by him. The phonetically similar doň, to be sure, has the meaning of "conch, pure, white, sublime" (cf. the chapter, "The Incense Offering"), but here it is none other than the Tibetan mduň, "lance, spear," in which the initial "m" is silent. Nasalized "u" is always changed into "o" among the Tujen. The Chinese tien-tung (spirit-spear), which likewise

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.]
spear must always be consecrated to the same deity as the old one.

Spear shaft: sdzida gändzē (Chin.) = spear shaft.
Spear foot: sdzida xuędē = spear end.
Two-edged tip: niengän tolgue = flat tip.
Three-edged tip: guran bulõndē tolgue = three edges tip.
Four-edged tip: dieran bulõndē tolgue = four edges tip.
Trident tip: guran salā tolgue = three prongs tip.
The spear is shaking: šdien (purgan, šdiendõn) bõdzia (9).

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9. [Foreign text pp. 25-26.] The Tujen never say šdiendzēn bõdzia, that is, the soothsayer is shaking. They do say sgurdien bõdzia, that is, the shaman is shaking. In the case of shamans they will never say purgan bõdzia, that is, the spirit is shaking. These distinctions are to be noted; bõ- is reserved for that which is in motion, that is, the spear and the shaman, in other words šdien (= šdiendõn or purgān) and sgurdien. bõ- actually means (come down, descend, begin, start work," and refers to the medium of the spirit, not to the spirit itself, for the latter's descent is designated by kur- (kuru-), that is, "to arrive." This differentiates the peculiarity of the trance from the activity of the soothsayer. The Chinese, too, express a clear differentiation here. For the trance they say fashen-tzu, that is, to bring the body to a state of excitement; for the calling of the spirit for soothsaying, they say ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, to invite the Buddha(father).

Indeed, the way the soothsayers work is easy to differentiate from that of the shaman. I was able to observe both

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
repeatedly. There are two kinds of communication with the spirit. In the case of spear-soothsaying the center of movement lies in the spear and stays there. The spear shakes and draws only the soothsayer's arms and a little of the upper part of his body into the movement. The body is still; there is only an autonomous movement of the spear. At the same time the soothsayer is wholly aware of his surroundings; he observes everything that goes on about him and hears everything, even when he bends down to the spear and seems to speak with the spirit in it. When he speaks in the name of the spirit, he does so in a light, normal voice. When he is done, he sets the spear aside the way a craftsman lays down his tool. There is no excitement in the whole affair. -- It is different in the case of the shaman trance. The shaman, too, has weapons, for instance, sword and spear. I was able to observe in the clouds of incense how first the spear tip began to tremble, then the shaft. From the shaft the shaking went over to the arm, then on the chest to the next arm, and finally to the head and the entire body. The center of movement then lies in the shaman himself. He becomes pale or quite red. The heavy, much-too-large helmet is placed on his head, but because of his swelling head it nonetheless sits firmly. He foams at the mouth and speaks disjointed words in various languages. He is entirely inwardly directed and takes no notice of his

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] surroundings. To him everything is in a state of excitement and trembling. After the trance he is exhausted and has to rest for several hours.

For the conclusion of the spear-sooth-saying there is the expression šdien (šdiendõ̌n) džuoladzia, that is, the spear is ready. For the cessation in the case of the [26] shaman one says sgurdien dõ̌nladzia, that is, the shaman is finished. The actual meaning of džuo- and dõ̌n- has never been clear to me.

000 [Pages 23-26 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[27] 2. The Gurtum (Sword-shaman)*

* See "Notes," pp. 31-33 [of the original text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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The sword-shaman has as his most important weapon the sword, with which he fights against the demons. He always performs his ceremonies in a trance condition. Then his tutelary deity descends upon him and endows him with great powers.

Whether one becomes a shaman depends upon his ability to go into a trance. Some inherit it in the family. Many of them experiment in a lonely spot. As soon as one has learned [792] how to do it, he goes to a lamic monastery. There he is tested to see if he is genuine. If he is genuine, he receives instruction and an amulet. Every year, however, he must return once to his teacher in order to train himself further.

[30 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.] to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village with a small lamasery [33] from which the shamans of Kumbum come, who appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.

In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's. I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

• [791]

[562]

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

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The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

[31 cont.]

192 The shaman's sword: aradzi = two-edged sword; wadăm (Tib.) (12); chien (Chin.).

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*[778]

12. [Foreign text p. 33.] wadam: Tibetan dpa-gdam = sword. -- sõṅkuor: Tibetan skyoṅ = protection, 'k'or = little disks (Unkrig).

[776] The tutelary-spirit -- hada: šdien = the consecrated, as it is called before it is stuck in the bag; sõṅkuor (Tib. loanword) (12) [see note 12 above] = protective fort, as it is called when it is inside the bag; the amulet is also called this.

*[778] Chest-mirror: mälõṅ (Tib. loanword); hu-hsin ching (Chin.) = the mirror protecting the heart.

Headcloth: tolgue bãṅladzin = the head covering. pao-chin = packing cloth (Chin.).

Rattles: xõṅguor; ling-êrh (Chin.).

Plowshare: timur ndziesë; t'ieh-hua (Chin.).

Thorns: huang-ts'ê (Chin.).

[789] To banish devils: ilie sdzira; pudag sdzira = to banish filth.

Recompense for the shaman: hsiang-ch'ien = incense money.

[Pages 31-33 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[33]

3. The Bon Priest*

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* See "Notes," pp. 34-35 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are two kinds of Bon priests: the nomads and the

[33 cont.]
791 farmers (1). The Bon priests of the nomads are now found only

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1. [Foreign text p. 34.] There are also Bon priests who live in monasteries. Such a monastery is found near the Tujen monastery Rgulõn. The inmates of this monastery, however, do not wear any special garb, but are dressed like laymen. The lamas prefer to invite them for certain ceremonies to exorcise demons. -- The other farmer-Bon are only very rarely seen any more. They live like everyone else, marry, and work the fields.

among the Fandse, although formerly some were also Tujen. They have a very long, thick queue, which they wear wound around the head, and a long red garment with a red or yellow belt. -- The present-day Bon priests of the Tujen have almost died out; they are ordinary farmers and are distinguished from the other shamans or soothsayers as follows:

Details

791 Clothing: They wear ordinary garb: in winter a fur, and
292 in summer the long coat. They do not wear trousers (2). They
[177]

2. [Foreign text p. 35.] The fact that they do not wear trousers may indicate an origin from the Fandse, who formerly did not wear trousers, as is still customary for their women and lamas.

take off their shoes during prayer on the kang. They do not have any special official dress. [34] They only put a wreath of wild-pig bristles around the head (3), which are supposed to

3. [Foreign text p. 35.] The informant did not know why they have to be wild-pig bristles.

represent long hair.

[34 cont.]

000 represent long hair.

791 778 534 [789] [765] Equipment: Like the lamas, they have a bell, a large, two-sided drum, a small double-drum (hourglass drum); for exorcising demons they use a whip made of human skin and a bone flute. Furthermore, they have Tibetan books, sounding boards, and thunderbolt.

The drum was formerly made of human skulls, over which human skin was stretched for the drumhead. The whip had a handle of human bones. The flute was made of the shinbone of a full-grown girl who had not yet married and had lost her life through suicide or an accident. It is open at one end and cut off smoothly. This end serves as mouthpiece and is inlaid with metal. The other end has a small hole on each of the two condyles. The flute is wrapped with the girl's skin; it is sewed tight (5). The same skin is also used for plaiting the whip and

5. [Foreign text p. 35.] The reports vary concerning the bone from which the flute is made. Most of them say that it is the shinbone; others claim that it is the thigh bone. I did not learn anywhere that the periosteum had to be eaten. -- The flute has an uncannily plaintive tone; it has an especially penetrating effect at night, when it is often heard in lamaseries. -- The Bon also try to drive away unpleasant events with the sound of the flute, for example, a punitive expedition, tax collectors, soldiers, etc., as happened in Kweiteh, for instance.

[789]

covering the drum. There are certain regulations for the manufacture of these objects. The Bon priest makes the implements himself (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 35.] What is here said concerning the making of the flute, drum, and whip is confirmed by other people, but no one has seen how they are made in detail. Some say it has to be a girl who has not yet

[34 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

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[789] Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying, [787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon [755] priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

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Shepherd-Bon: sĕnoĝsa (snaĝsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[34 cont.]

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7. [Foreign text p. 35.] dziliu: Tibetan dril bu = bell. -- kã̀ngergë: Mongolic k'eng-gerge = drum. -- sënoġsa (snaġsa): Tibetan shags pa = sorcerer; shags bon = Bon priest. -- (n)duombora: Tibetan sdom = to bind, spu = hair, ra = wreath. -- sgã̀ndõ̀n: Tibetan rkaṅ = shinbone, duṅ = trumpet, snail. -- ndarë: probably a literary botching of the Sanskritic damaru (Unkrig).

Farmer-Bon: xuändie; su-jen peng-po (Chin.) = Lay-Bon.
Bon priest (in general): peng-po-tzu (Chin.).
Hair wreath of the farmer-Bon: (n)duombõra (Tib. and Tujen) (7) [see Note 7 above].
[778] Bone flute: sgã̀ṅ-dõ̀ṅ (Tib. and Tujen); chuo-pa (Chin.) = shinbone (7) [see Note 7 above].
[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë (Tib. loanword) (7) [see Note 7 above]; pa-lang-ku (Chin.).
Bell: dziliu (7) [see Note 7 above]; ling-tang (Chin.).
Whip: p'i-pien-tzu (Chin.) = skin-whip.
Big drum: ta-ku (Chin.); kã̀ngärgë.

[Pages 34-35 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

792 [35]

4. The Lama (Lama-Reception)*

*See "Notes," pp. 41-43 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are many ceremonies to which a lama is invited.

3: Schröder--99 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[55]

3. The Mani-tree and the Central Fort *

* See "Notes," pp. 60-63 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

In almost every Tujen yard a mani-tree is set up in the middle of the central fort [Mittelburg] or round manger [Rundkrippe]. The mani-tree need not be erected at the same time as this central fort; it can be done later. The time is determined by the soothsayer.

The mani-tree consists of a wooden mast with a tip, which represents sun and moon. Below this tip a five-colored cover is drawn over the mast-end, and below this mast-end flies the white mani-flag.

This flag is printed in the lamaic monastery. At the same time the master of the household invites a lama to raise the tree. The lama prays several days and on the last day undertakes the raising. During these days the yard is taboo. The great incense offering is presented three times daily.

At the raising, the mast is brought into the yard, placed with its tip on the central fort, and the individual parts are attached to it. Once the pole has been set up, it is fumigated, first with the red-hot stone and then with incense. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from a plate with the spear tip and throws them over the tree, and the master of the household [56] [Fig. 7 appears here] dabs the tree with butter. Then the men dig a narrow deep hole in the central fort down to the level of the ground. The soothsayer again throws some grains of barley into it with the spear, and the master of the household also strews a few incense leaves in it. Then the men set the tree in the hole and draw it up. In order to make it stand firmly, it is wedged in at the base with stones and clay. The entire operation is done under the constant supervision of the spear-god cited.

[56 cont.]

782 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumi-
*778 gating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the follow-
ing gifts is put in front of it (1): a number of small bowls of

1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they
527 dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the
[792] new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to the monastery.

Details

●791
*778 Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a Living
[782] Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can
[792] also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts
[592] only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

[787]

2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[56 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.]
when the ceremony is to begin.

The soothsayer himself never takes part. He merely determines the time and names the spirit under whose supervision everything takes place.

*778 [57] Time: The time determined by the soothsayer varies in length: one, three, five, seven days, if a lama comes; otherwise only one day. The raising itself takes one forenoon at most. It is always started in the morning. -- Usually the tree is erected in conjunction with the construction of the central fort. It may also be erected, however, on any other day of the year.

The tree: The tree must always have its bark removed. Its size varies according to the proportions of the yard and the kind of wood. Fir trees are usually the longest. There are no prescriptions concerning the material and the origin of the tree. It may be cut down as desired. Also, there are no special ceremonies connected with it. There are trees up to ten meters in height, especially when it is a matter of mani-masts for the entire village or a monastery. On the average, however, they are five to six meters long (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 60.] Nowadays a complete mani-tree in the center of the yard is found only rarely. Usually an old cracked pole without a flag, to which the animals are tied, stands in the round manger. -- The mani-tree does not need to be confined to the center of the yard. One can also see mani-trees on the massive yard walls, especially where these come together at a corner. There are also communal mani-trees that are erected by an entire village, usually

[621]

[58 cont.]

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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778
782 The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the [791] house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more [787] whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. [357] The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- [784] The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, [792] since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

*778 Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is [372] burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[58 cont.]
*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse, or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pennant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no soothsayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Everything is done without special ceremonies, even without an incense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days. Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and the small mani-flag on the gate.

[792] [791] [357] [784]

357 *778 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out, a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions. For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle, to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort," for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani-pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising of a beṅkaṅ (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[791] [792] [231] [527]

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 782 [776] [792] [791] The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacrifices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*779 [621] [628] Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height. A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fadse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

[621]

*778 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled.
784 No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows
[231] and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any
[776] time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All
[792] kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-
[791] god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound.
[178] The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[65 cont.]
[782] concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual
[621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other
[231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured
[791] over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present.
[252] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal,
[574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in-
[791] vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days,
[621] depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[71 cont.]

346 *778 [621] [792] The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village. Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] [777] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361] [791] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

[192]

1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽn designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽn), that is, 100,000. kãn is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãn.

[72 cont.]

346
*778
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[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] a roof, such as dzẽw-yi and ger-kã̀ṅ. The kã̀ṅ described here is this ger-kã̀ṅ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kã̀ṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for bẽ̀ṅkaṅ, such as mani bẽ̀ṅkã̀ṅ, tsäla bẽ̀ṅkã̀ṅ, dsõma bẽ̀ṅkã̀ṅ, maridzẽ bẽ̀ṅkã̀ṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the bẽ̀ṅkã̀ṅ. The many rẽduombẽ̀ṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mãngudzẽ, probably also belong among the bẽ̀ṅkaṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific
•[791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival
[527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the
476 preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides
562 the work among the individual families. At the erection and the consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women
792 are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[74 cont.]

*778

[Note on foreign text p. 78 cont.]

assertion, are likewise placed in the chorten chamber. At any rate, they are to be distinguished from the tormas, which are never made of clay; cf. Ch. Das, p. 1019, and A. Tafel, I, 221, II, 331.

are carried in a pile into a temple hall or into a clean yard. On the last day before the construction the lama goes there, sprinkles them with holy water, and prays over them. Then he makes a torma on the spot, which is placed before the clay cones with the customary seven water-bowls. After everything has been fumigated with incense, he gives the votive prayer and then goes back to his host.

*778
346
[791]

The erection of the chorten chamber: On the seventh day the spear-soothsayer appears very early in the morning. He divines in the yard, under the questioning of the leader, when and where the chamber is to be erected. Then he goes out and with spear-shaking indicates the precise spot by driving the spear into the ground there. The lama meanwhile drinks his morning tea.

Now the people bring everything, stones, beams, chorten, clay, straw, urns, in short, all that is necessary. For the lama a white felt mat is spread out in an easterly direction, a small kang-table is placed on it, and a delegation is sent to invite him ceremoniously and escort him to this spot. He takes his seat on the mat and begins his prayer, accompanied by bell and drum.

The soothsayer now takes away the spear, and the men scatter twigs of the tree of life and barley grains over the place where it was driven into the ground. Then they place the first large urn precisely on the mark left by the spear, and [75] each of the four other small urns at the four points of the compass. Behind these the sky column with the four points of the compass indicated on it is set up. It is not driven into the ground, but

[621 cont.]
loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guānbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guāmbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sĕrāṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; laṡdze sĕrāṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguān ula, mountain of the Tuguān. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

551

[Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.] the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says serañ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdzig, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese, too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

[171]

5. [Foreign text p. 622.] sērañ: Tibetan sraṅ (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

553 791 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, however, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

[592] If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. -- 553 This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or 592 father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It [792]

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[585] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[796] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclear,
and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778

When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

[782] First the men make the great incense offering, which is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the [782] extra features, before the pole. A great incense offering and frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 [782] [264]

In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other occasions.

[824 cont.]

241 789 791 [778] This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made, which represents the four others; there is also the weather-torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

[782] [465] When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest, he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 789 791 787 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 789 778 [621] [791] Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
778 with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
[791] the next year.

The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
791 tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
[178] out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class, the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[242] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
778 poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[62] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
778

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

[533] The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[782] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[791] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
[791]

241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they
825 make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
[787] the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.
778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

[532] The weather-torma: The Bon priest
[791] meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.

[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[782] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]

Magic dagger,
wooden peg, mpuru.
(From the drawing of a
Tujen.)

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 [791] The wedges: After making the torma the Bon priest inscribes the wedges. They are provided by the seed-master. They have the form of the Lamaistic magic dagger; they are three-edged, seven inches (23 centimeters) long, and one inch (3.3 centimeters) wide. Only the hardest wood is used; in that region there are only the three kinds: huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu (7).

[824]

7. [Foreign text p. 830.] The names could not be identified; huang-san-tzu seems to be black sandalwood; hua-mu is birch. In any case it is supposed to be the hardest wood that can be found. Among the kinds of wood there, birch is in fact regarded as one of the hardest; people even make wheel rims out of it.

It does not matter whether all of them are made from one of these kinds or whether all the kinds are used. There are five wedges in all. The head of the wedge is notched into three parts (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 829.] The shape of the magic dagger varies. The grip in particular varies, but usually it is three stepped death's-heads. The daggers that I saw were all of iron. I also heard, however, that formerly there were daggers of human bones. In this way the three-edged pointed shape and the bone knob could be easily explained; it would also fit in well with the skull drum, skin whip, bone flute, etc. -- The black color signifies iron.

[765]

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 791 [212] The seed-master places these wedges on the table before the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

[788] Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward. He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 789 791 782 [821] [823] The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set, the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer. Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 789 778 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[827 cont.]
241 placed various kinds of real flowers (3).

789
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3. [Foreign text p. 829.] This is a representation of the world with animals and stars, in other words, a mandala. It is interesting that the informant designates this torma as an offering, as well as all the extra features of the torma, whereas the two other tormas represent spirits.

[782]

[791] These figures are all made in miniature from butter and tsamba by the Bon priest himself. He places the torma on the tray with exactly the same sacrificial extra features as in the case of the weather-torma. This torma is likewise brought to the foot of the pole, usually behind it and somewhat elevated. Lamps and little bowls are put in front of it. Thus, two tormas in all stand under the pole-goat. While the Bon priest goes back and continues his prayers, the men again burn incense.

[791]
[782]

241 The goat offering: The goat offering consists of the throwing of sacrificial meat. While the Bon priest rests from
789 his prayers, the spear-soothsayer (or another) indicates the
782 direction in which the offering is to be made and, with the shaking spear, supervises the performance. The seed-master
[791] takes a bowl of the broth from the kettle and throws it in the air for the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then four throws in the four directions of the compass follow, and finally three throws toward the northwest for the weather-spirits. At each throw the men kneel down and make a three-fold kowtow.

241 With that the actual ceremony is concluded. The men sit down [828] around the kettle, consume the remaining
789 meat, and drink tea. Then all go home, including the Bon
791 priest. -- The tormas are either burned in the fire or simply left standing.

[828 cont.]

241 789 791 782 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 789 776 825 821 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The goat has special protective power because its head serves as an anvil for the god Dăntsien Sañ. He is the smith in the weather ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,

[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dăntsañ (Dăntsien Sañ) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

[791]

[828 cont.]

241 789 821

[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.] weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241 789 778

The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[982]

The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons.

[791]

The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged

[535]

magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed

[765]

to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 789 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

ima rẽdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] The goat: ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 241 789 [782] Weather-prayer: dirĕdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.

8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien: Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink. It is the Mongolic altan umdagan, golden drink, poured out at the obo offering, the tea offering before the obo. An offering to the local gods. --guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa = place, skyon = to guard, to preserve; king, protector. --darnag̀: Tibetan dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778] Misfortune-torma: g̀uax (8) [see Note 8 above] s̀dor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib.?).
Magic formulas: snag̀ (sĕnog̀).
[791] Bon priest second class: xuändie; sĕnog̀sa (snag̀sa) (Tib. loanword). peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsion (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnag̀ (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasg̀a (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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[831]

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3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

[621] [776] [264]

Details

241 782 787 [791]

Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits concerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]
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2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzën sawa bi pëngë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not [621] be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]

241 782 231 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 782 252 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart. The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out, and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking: In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help with the cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 782 791 787 [776] Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indicates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit, and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits, this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[833 cont.]

241 782 [791] Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle, drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of the seeds (4).

241 782 174 776

4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

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782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight
[778] men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulõñ (1); the way there takes an entire day

1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulõñ,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all
[791] [787] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession
[533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

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[836 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.] but only for the period of the sowing festival with the cult dances. -- The Christian missionaries have taken over this arrangement for their ecclesiastical celebrations and folk festivals. Thus, besides the community mayors there are also special supervisors who, for instance, organize the festival for processions or at Easter, accommodate the guests, slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

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It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the spring (aradziañ) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often

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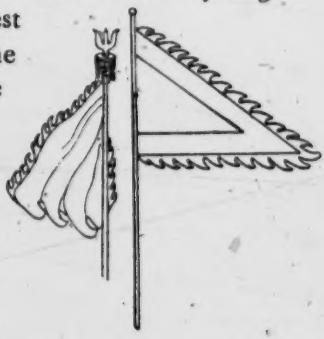
3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

[837(cont.]

241 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustra-
782 tion appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple
533 drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the
[177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 Among the flags there are black,
782 red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on
[532] them, usually in white. There are no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as
[177] desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens,
[778] that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words,
[791] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely
782 as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and
787 how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the
[821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offer-
782 ing is usually connected with the

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[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor:	tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.
Trumpet:	dõñ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
Cymbals:	nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rēbuoḡē (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags:	ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books:	luān = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers:	luān rēgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

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VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[839 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 842 cont.]
with which then the performance is
likewise supervised.

into the spear, and one asks him, for instance, "Shall we consecrate an animal?" He answers, "Yes." "Do you want a goat, a hen, a horse?" [840] "No." "Do you want a sheep?" "Yes." "Shall we consecrate it to a god?" "No." "Shall we consecrate it to the sky?" "Yes."

Then the soothsayer sets the spear aside. Hastily the people run to fetch a sheep. They bring it into the yard, because one consecrates an animal to the sky only out in the open. A man holds in his hand a little plate with barley; on top of this he places a narrow red band. He stands next to the soothsayer, who again has invoked the god and amidst spear shaking supervises the action. Now once more there is an interrogation, during which one determines when the consecration is to be renewed.

The sheep is then washed from head to foot with pure water. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from the little plate with the tip of the spear and throws them into the [783] incense, which is burned throughout the ceremony. Another puts some of the incense in a hollow tile and fumigates the sheep all around. Then he pours a bowl of milk over the animal's neck, back, and head. All the men kneel around the sheep in a circle, and when it shakes itself they make a threefold kowtow, for the sky has accepted the animal. The soothsayer sets the spear aside.

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Now one takes the red band from the little plate, holds it in the incense, ties it in the wool on the sheep's shoulder, and lets the sheep run free. It may run where it will, for it belongs to the sky.

Each year this sacred sheep is again brought here in the first month from the first to the fifteenth day. Then the consecration is renewed in similar fashion before the spirit-spear and a new band is tied in the wool.

[842 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 843-844 cont.]

The second name is šdier; šdier corresponds to the Mongolic seter; cf. DMF, p. 335, "šdier, ribbon or piece of material attached to the tail or to the mane of an animal consecrated to the deities running free. Cf. Mong. seter, ord. se't'er id." [translated from French]. -- The Tujen designate both the consecration band and the consecrated animal with šdier. This likewise agrees with Mongolic linguistic usage. According to W.A. Unkrig (communication), seter is a [844] band that is tied in the animal's mane or tail. seter also refers to the animal itself and the rite by which it is consecrated. For seter, Kovalevskij (1346) gives the Tibetan equivalents bsruṅ rtags. According to Jäschke (594 and 212) this means: tutelary-spirit sign, through which it is clear that the animal belongs to the tutelary spirit. Neither Jäschke nor Das have the word combination bsruṅ rtags.

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[791] Renewal of the consecration: Usually the renewal takes place in the local temple. The soothsayer determines which day between the new and the full moon. This day of renewal must then be maintained for the life of the animal.

One may also choose the original place of consecration. -- Consecration-master, consecration-god, and consecration-animal must always remain the same. Only if an animal no longer shakes itself when the milk is poured over it is another one taken.

[211] Also, old lost bands are not replaced at the renewal, but every year a new band is added, so the years of consecration can be determined by the number of bands.

[171] Distribution: The animal-consecration is practiced wherever Tujen live. The Chinese do not know it; only in

[842 cont.]

Word List

Consecration-band: sdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.
To tie on the consecration-band: sdier fuya-.
The consecration-animal: sdier.
Sacred horse: sdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).
Sacred sheep: sdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).
Sacred goat: sdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[844 cont.]

789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
791 soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
757 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
[783] dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as unclean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

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789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
[484] in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[415] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color), a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[845 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 846-847 cont.] of which the whole pyramid is given the appearance of a fiery, flaming bonfire. The representation of a skull, which is likewise made of dough, is put on the tip. But then the same kind of skulls are placed at the foot of each of the three corners. An arrow is stuck in the middle of the pyramid, from which hadak hang, and which, instead of feathering, bears a little wheel ..." etc. (Translated by W.A. Unkrig.) Lessing maintains of the arrow in the zor: "To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informant put it" [cited in English] (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). -- Whether and to what extent this arrow in the demon-torma is connected with the arrow of good fortune is unclear. One conceives of the zor most simply as bearer of the weapons that are feared by the demons. A similarity with the weapon-bearing and demon-combating gurtum is undeniable.

789 places it on a table in front of the household altar, but not on the altar. Alongside it he places the sack with the clothing and food provisions.

[791] [787] On the following morning, the seventh day, one invites the spear-soothsayer. After a good breakfast he summons the spirit and determines the exact hour in which the demon must be carried away. Usually it is done immediately following the soothsaying.

[791] [792] A man takes the saddlebag, the lama the tray with the torma that represents the demon, and behind him follows the

[845 cont.]

789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
791 there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
756 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

[846 cont.]

If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the demon will punish him.

Word List

Demon escort: rëdzoñwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away that which is to be taken away.

The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].

Saddlebag: dadzë (Chin. loanword).

Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

. . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.

On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e. - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[847 cont.]

Details

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755 Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

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791 Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

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[534] The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

[848 cont.]

789 778 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door. Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter. [783] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

789 778 791 532 The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel, fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake, frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures. [783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand. [782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

[782] The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small, at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is [783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

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[787]
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[849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away. They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.

[782]
[171]

The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

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4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[849 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

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784 Figure-litter: šergundi; made up of šẽ (Tib.) = demon,
[778] rẽgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib. ?) = complete (3) (5).

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawoǵ: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[741] Bon priest: xuãndzie (xuãndie).
[778] Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[829] Sheep: xoni.
Goat: imã.
Hen: taǵu.
Pig: xge.
Dog: nogue (noxue).
Snake: moǵue.
Frog: šbawoǵ (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: mori.
Cattle: ulã.

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.] about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõňwa (rẽdzõňwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: taše̊; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sẽmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lẽmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uḥuosẽ yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: taġū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
[792] the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.

Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
782 The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer. The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the
824 urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley, white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

[174]

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.] fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmani. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches [35] [784] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.] As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In [192] Kumbum the urns are usually called benba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdĕr-wĕm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sĕnoġ-dĕr (cf. section, [778] "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions. They make a small torma which one takes out into the open and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying. One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of
792 pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for
[784 prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at
351] least another week.

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

•[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõhgba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre-
[562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer. [791]

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] [792] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 782 [792] [351] [784] Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[863 cont.]
782 scatters over it the six incense-spices and the spice-powder of the 74 earth-god spices, mixes everything together thoroughly, and in each case puts this mixture in two portions on a little plate, since at the fire-pouring he must throw the fire-offerings into the fire in two sequences, in other words, there are as many plates as there are kinds, each with two portions. In order to protect the spices from dust and impurity, they are individually covered with a sheet of paper. -- The 46 pairs of pieces of consecration-wood are put together on a separate tray. The lama sprinkles [792] the burnt offerings thus arranged with holy water and has them taken to the household altar.

782 Preparation of the place for the fire: In conjunction
532 with the preparation of the burnt offerings, the spear-soothsayer
[791] determines the place for the fire-pouring. He usually selects it in the yard. The lama puts the earth-god torma with the
[792] consecration-gifts on this spot. Once this has been removed, the lama measures off a rectangle about two ells square on the ground with a string whitened in gypsum or powdered lime. [Illustration appears here.] He beats the lines onto the ground, just as the carpenters do on wood with their black measuring string. Inside this square he draws a second, parallel rectangle that is about a handbreadth smaller. A frame is thus formed. Likewise with white powder and with the help of a wooden or leather pattern (3), he draws eight thunderbolts on this frame,

3. [Foreign text p. 867.] The patterns were formerly made of leather. Nowadays they are usually of wood or cardboard.

namely, one in each corner and one in the center on each side. The powdered lime is simply scattered over the pattern, and when he takes this away, [864] the contours of the drawing remain. The thunderbolts run parallel to the direction of the frame, in other words, they are not diagonal to it. Finally he

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
776 bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purgan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beńkań, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purgan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudag ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[204 cont.]
of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are combated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[214 cont.]
782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which [463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the [792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people [791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the [192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mosë, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

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174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

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174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (characterized by the tree of life, etc.).

756 779 Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bö (written in Mong. böge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 791 [778] In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the [787] outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[248 cont.]

it is true, must have the special ability to "activate" the spear and to interpret its movements in order to learn what the spirit in the spear wants, but he himself is not inwardly filled by it.

On the other hand, the relationship between spirit and spear is much closer. It is the seat of the spirit and is treated as such. Like a shaman it receives a consecration, is clothed with an "official garb": with bands, little bells, and mirrors. The people venerate it like a god that is present. In order to enter actively into a relationship with the world of men through soothsaying, healing, and exorcising evil, or in order to have an active effect on the outside world, this spear-idol needs a middleman who takes it in his hand and to whom it "speaks." This is the "idol-holder," the sdiendzĕn, rten 'dsin. He is not called a shaman, for it is not he, the soothsayer, but the possessed spear that is actually the shaman. The soothsayer is, as it were, merely a living extension of the idol, its loud-speaker.

How is the spear to be classified? As the spear is now used, it is to be regarded as a special kind of idol, as its name as spirit seat already suggests. The Tibetan compound rten-mduñ is not found in Ch. Das. However, analogous to the name sku-rten (gurtum) and corresponding to the character of the spear, the rten can here mean nothing other than container or visible representation of the deity: a weapon as seat of the deity. This suggests the question: Was the spirit-spear independent from the outset, or is it merely the tool of a shaman?

The spirit-spear as independent idol, in other words, not as equipment of the shaman, is distributed throughout the Tujen and agricultural region of eastern Amdo. [249] One finds it frequently in temples and in family chapels, even among the Chinese. To what extent the Tangut nomads there possess it is beyond my knowledge. The spear must have had an independent significance in Lamaism even in early times, however, for one frequently encounters it in Lamic monasteries, and usually in conjunction with other standards (banners). The Geography of the Minchu-Hutukhtu is able to report: "In

[251 cont.]
lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lĕmu, sdier sĕmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman, nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.

It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby, as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sŭlde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

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still cannot explain its great significance and use.

The Other Idols

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Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols. These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

[776] The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787] The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

[776] This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purgan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

[532] The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

[252 cont.]
778 however, the lamas in the monastery do this. For soothsaying
791 the litter is taken up on the shoulders of four men, who then
[787] involuntarily follow the movements of the deity.

Summary

756 Both idol-shamanism and gurtum-shamanism form a unity
787 in their appearance. They have in common: the clothing
791 (= beribboning), the metal disks, the little bells or rattles, and possession by a spirit. They both belong in the conceptual realm of the connection [253] between heaven and earth and of the world- or shaman-tree that is hung with bells and mirrors; in this connection cf. the myths of the Golden or the songs of the Tujen, which tell about a tree that bears the sun, moon, and stars in its top. In the case of the human shaman all functions are united in one bearer, whereas in idol-shamanism these functions are divided between man and thing, but this division in turn constitutes a unity in the activities. There arises here the fundamental question: Is not the entire idol cult to be understood ultimately from this shamanistic standpoint? Does it not gain its real significance only through the living person? Certainly a great deal of what has hitherto been designated as "fetishism" or "idol cult" is at bottom merely a variant of shamanism, a static permanent form of that which the shaman represents for only a short period of time with great psychic upheaval: a direct link with the spirit world, culturally regularized, and ritually developed; making present and vivifying deities and demons that the human being wants to have with him.

Here it should be once more emphasized that these ideas are merely a sketch for a theory whose detailed presentation does not belong here.

3. The Bon Religion

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779 Among the Bon there are three groups: the shepherd-Bon, the farmer-Bon, and the monastery-Bon. This division

[253 cont.]

791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765 534] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female
[174] person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone, the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[989] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these
178 rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
791 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
779 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.